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USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form (Rev. 8-86)

OMB No. 1024-0018

JACKSON LAKE LODGE

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

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1. NAME OF PROPERTY		
Historic Name: Jackson Lake Lodge		
Other Name/Site Number:		
2. LOCATION		
Street & Number: N/A		Not for publication: N/A
City/Town: Moran		Vicinity: X
State: Wyoming County: Teton	Code: 039	Zip Code: 83013
Ownership of Property Private: Public-Local: Public-State: Public-Federal: X	Category of Property Building(s): District: X Site: Structure: Object:	
Number of Resources within Property Contributing 38 1 39	Noncontributing 22 Buildings Sites 1 Structures Objects 23 Total	
Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in	the National Register:	0
Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A		

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4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION	
As the designated authority under the National Historic Protection of that this nomination request for determination of registering properties in the National Register of Historic I requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, to National Register Criteria.	of eligibility meets the documentation standards for Places and meets the procedural and professional
Signature of Certifying Official	Date
State or Federal Agency and Bureau	_
In my opinion, the property meets does not mee	et the National Register criteria.
Signature of Commenting or Other Official	Date
State or Federal Agency and Bureau	_
5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION	1
I hereby certify that this property is:	
 Entered in the National Register Determined eligible for the National Register Determined not eligible for the National Register Removed from the National Register Other (explain): 	
Signature of Keeper	Date of Action

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6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic: Domestic Sub: Hotel

Domestic Secondary structure

Current: Domestic Sub: Hotel and secondary structures

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Other: Modern Movement/International Style

MATERIALS:

Foundation: Concrete Walls: Concrete

Roof: Other: Tar and Chip

Other: Glass

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Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

On a high terrace overlooking a marshy willow flat and Jackson Lake, with the Grand Teton Range as a backdrop, stands the Jackson Lake Lodge, a predominantly International Style hotel completed in 1955 in the Grand Teton National Park, Jackson Hole, Wyoming. Gilbert Stanley Underwood, former Supervising Architect of the United States, designed the lodge and its component buildings for John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s Grand Teton Lodge and Transportation Company. In addition to the main lodge building, the complex includes a series of "cottages," one-story attached room units in groups of four to ten. Most of the cottages came about as part of the construction of the Jackson Lake Lodge complex. Others at the outer fringes of the grouping date, from the 1960s and 1970s. Other aspects of the lodge complex are landscaped parking separated by tall pines, spruce and hedge plantings. With this tree cover, uninterrupted views of the hotel building, cottages, and parking lots are impossible. To the north of the building, the ground rises to form "Lunch Tree Hill," a name coined by the Rockefeller family. The hill further obscures the building from view.

Also part of the Jackson Lake Lodge complex is a stable and a gas station dating from the period of initial construction. A curving driveway carries traffic from U.S. Route 89/287 to the complex, giving access to ample parking lots and looping through the motor courts. Located within the landmark boundary are cottages and two-story guest lodgings, employee housing units, a swimming pool added in 1964, a medical station and a telephone utility building, all constructed after the period of significance. These buildings are considered non-contributing to the NHL district. The telephone building was part of the original construction and extensively enlarged and altered in 1972.

The majestic setting of the Jackson Lake Lodge complex dwarfs the buildings, which recede among pines and aspens, so as not to intrude on the vista. Yet the main lodge building is large, three stories in height and measuring approximately 360 by 150 feet. It hugs the edge of the bench, appearing to crouch low to blend with the surroundings. The building is constructed of reinforced poured concrete, molded with "shadowood," a wood grain textured plywood or wall board, so that raised wood grain is cast into the surface. The concrete was stained brown to give it a wood-toned appearance. Underwood used these same materials and techniques in other lodges, notably Ahwahnee Hotel at Yosemite National Park in 1925. The overall form of the building is a series of rectangles complemented by multiple diagonals created by shed roof angles. Horizontal bands of windows dominate the building. The basic rectangular boxes with shed roofs are elements that identify this building as International Style. Other elements of the style are repeated ribbons of windows with horizontal and vertical divisions and hopper openings. Combined with the modern architectural features, which define the character of the building, are rustic features carried over from traditional National Park Service architecture from the 1920s and 1930s, and from Underwood's earlier works. These rustic features appear mostly in detailing: the cast wood grained surfaces, stained concrete and cased steel beams covered to look like wood trusses, and "shadowood" interior wall covering. The overall visual impression of the lodge is that the building is essentially a structural framework to hold and support windows.

The focal point of the building is the large two-story (60 by 36 feet) glass window facing west from the upper lobby, called the "lounge," overlooking Jackson Lake and the Grand Tetons. Visitors entering the building from the main entrance at ground level on the east side ascend a flight of stairs to be confronted with the broad vista through this window. The large lounge area, in the manner of late nineteenth century grand hotels, is filled with groupings of comfortable chairs and sofas oriented toward the window. The current furnishings replace the originals, but the concept of intimate groupings of chairs and sofas in the large space dominated by the bank of windows remains.

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To the south of the lounge are restaurant facilities, the Pioneer Grill and the more formal Mural Room, with windows opening onto the view. On the north side of the lounge is a conference center meeting hall. Also extending from the northwest is the Blue Heron Lounge, constructed as an addition in 1989 and facing the western view. The lounge addition is distinguishable from the original construction in that it is made from panelized stucco (Dryvit) and departs from the strongly rectangular form of the original building by having an angled west elevation. However, it retains the same rhythm of windows and clean uncluttered surface, while being distinguishable from the original building.

Visitors approach the complex on a two lane paved road, which exits from U.S. Route 89/287. This driveway passes the service station and parking areas to loop beneath an overhanging porte-cochere which shelters two traffic lanes and sidewalk. Doors lead into the ground floor's main lobby and registration area. Concrete encased steel beams and posts support the overhang and tie into the main building, which, at this below grade level, is cased with rectangular cut sandstone veneer brought from Park City, Utah.

This drive-through porte-cochere supports a large flat deck with a metal balustrade. Along the balustrade at the upper deck, flagpoles carry flags from each state. The deck opens into the second level of the lodge where the shops, restaurants, and lounge are located. The shop facing onto the deck occupies the space formerly assigned to the "Stockade Room," the original hotel tavern. The Blue Heron Lounge replaced the Stockade Room in 1989.

The building is constructed into a slight rise, so that the exposed ground floor on the east façade is mostly below grade at the west elevation. The south end wall of the building includes a one-story service wing for deliveries and trash pick-up. An elevator shaft and a flue encased in wood grained concrete like the rest of the building climb the south end wall. The roof is high at this elevation and slopes downward to the north, leveling before it meets the vertical jut of the open lounge structure.

The west elevation is cleanly detailed, with the prominent feature being the windows, which mirror the mountain view. The upper story windows, which light the guest rooms, were modified in the 1960s. Underwood's original plans show two small windows for each guest room. The significance of the view brought about the conversion of the windows to their present appearance by removal of the section of wall between the windows in each room. Despite the change, the architect's original design feature of strong horizontal banding of the windows is preserved. In front of the building is a flat lawn edged with a promenade along the rim of the terrace. A concrete deck opens off the south face of the lounge section with steps leading down to the promenade.

The north elevation ends as Lunch Tree Hill rises steeply to the north. A loop trail to the summit of the hill offers a view across the angled rooftops of the lodge toward Signal Mountain to the south. The north end of the building houses the convention center, which expanded with an addition in 1998. A concrete deck skirts the west side of the convention area terminating with access to the Blue Heron Lounge. The east side of the north end of the building contains staff offices.

The promenade along the top of the bluff becomes a macadamed path curving to the southwest down a steep slope to the bottom of the hill where it merges with a dirt road that has become a hiking and bridal trail. The road was the original access to the predecessor of the Jackson Lake Lodge, a much smaller gable-roofed rustic log and shingled building. The older lodge was demolished when the present lodge was constructed. The dirt road leads to Coulter Bay Village, about 4 miles to the north. It is part of a network of riding and hiking trails in the vicinity of the lodge.

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In the interior, from the east elevation doors, visitors enter into the lobby area. To the north is the registration desk, and to the south, a small lounge area and a newsstand. A corridor leads west toward the office area, restrooms, and elevators. Like Underwood's earlier Ahwahnee Lodge, this entrance area is a utilitarian space to funnel visitors to areas with impressive vistas. Therefore, leading to the west from the entrance area, a terrazzo staircase with aluminum railing ascends to the main lounge with its dominant bank of windows. This wider staircase replaced the original in 1958 to accommodate visitor traffic (see attached historic photos). In the 1980s, the lobby space was opened up to accommodate visitor traffic through the redesign of the registration area and removal of shops in this area.

On the main upper level, the large western lounge room has an east wall of rectangular cut sandstone like the exterior entrance area. The north and south walls have two story stone clad columns, carrying trusses supporting the roof. Between the columns, the wall surface is shadowood, although some of the space between the columns at the lower levels is now paneled with naturally finished oak, to create alcoves. The natural wood finish added in the 1980s follows the concept of keeping surfaces naturalistic with wood textures and tone. At the east end of the room an overhanging balcony provides an intimate sitting and meeting area above the main lounge. Beneath this balcony in each corner is a fireplace. The identical fireplaces project in the round with firebrick hearths and backs. Hammered steel barrel-like hoods shield the flues. The andirons, made as directed by the architect, are metal moose head silhouettes set on iron railroad rails.

The Pioneer Grill, entered from the south side of the lounge, is an oversized 1950s diner with four U-shaped bays and Formica covered counters, around which are set stationary green upholstered stainless steel stools. The stainless steel food preparation area has ribbed molded metal surfaces and the serving apparatus such as cake stands and menu holders, are also stainless steel. This material is original to the 1954-55 construction. The Mural Room off the south side front, although updated and redecorated, retains painted murals with western scenes by Carl Roters, who received a commission from John D. Rockefeller, Jr. for the paintings in 1957.

From the north, a short corridor leads to the meeting rooms and convention section. Another leads to the Blue Heron Lounge, the tavern area added in 1989. To the east, behind the main lounge and the stairwell from the ground floor is a corridor to shops along its length. At the back of the stairwell stands the "Peace Table," made in the Jackson Lake Lodge carpenter shop out of lodge pole pine. At this table on the terrace in front of the lodge, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, signed a statement of peace and friendship concluding U.S.-Soviet Talks in 1989.

The upper level of the lodge contains thirty-seven guestrooms. This space originally contained forty-eight guestrooms but several have been combined to create suites. They line the east and west sides of the building. Those along the west side have views onto the Teton Range. The rooms are approximately 13 by 26 feet. Each contains two double beds, a dresser, bar sink and small refrigerator, chairs and tables and a private bath. There are no televisions in the rooms at Jackson Lake Lodge.

Throughout most of the interior, the wall surfaces are covered with shadowood. This wood-grained surface is now painted in light neutral colors, most often an ivory hue. Interior design was the responsibility of James McCutcheon and Company of New York City. Most of the original interior furniture was custom designed but after nearly fifty years, much has been replaced.

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Other Buildings in the Jackson Lake Lodge Complex:

Although the main lodge is the center and largest building of the Jackson Lake Lodge complex, there are many more buildings and structures that make up the district. Prominent among these are the "cottages." Arranged in two courts flanking the main parking area for the Lodge, these are quite reminiscent of 1950s motor court architecture with overhanging shed roofs, windows with horizontally divided two-pane sash and parking at the door. The cottages follow Gilbert Stanley Underwood's design and most of them were constructed and in use before the main lodge was completed. They are of one-story frame construction, covered with asbestos shingle ("cement asbestos") siding with a textured surface. Constructed in building groups of four to ten guest rooms, each room is identifiable by the alternating direction of the overhanging shed roof (see attached architect's drawings). Building groups are paired, back-to-back, except those groups that form the western-most line of cottages.

Interiors of the cottages appear quite similar to the guest rooms of the main lodge. Walls are covered with shadowood painted an ivory hue; each room has a private bathroom and built-in closet space. Ceilings are angled according to the exterior shed roof with exposed-boxed rafters imparting a 'rustic' feel to the cottage room.

The four cottage buildings on the east boundary of the south cottage court were constructed in the 1960s. Although they conform to the design of the original cottages, these four buildings are considered non-contributing to the NHL district because they were constructed outside of the period of significance. Immediately to the south of the south cottage court, fronting along the west edge of the terrace on which the lodge complex is located, is a group of four two-story guest accommodation buildings. Built in the 1970s and later, these buildings appear quite different in design from the nearby one-story cottages; they are also considered non-contributing to the NHL district.

In addition to guest lodging, the lodge complex includes employee housing. The employee housing area is located at the northeast corner of the lodge compound. The buildings for the most part are part of the original construction plan, designed in a dormitory style for the purpose of housing seasonal employees. The one-story frame buildings have wood panel siding and shed roofs with wide overhanging eaves. They are sited on a diagonal with the service road, forming courtyard areas between the buildings. Each dormitory room has a door and window, with rooms along both façades of the buildings. The employee housing area also includes a recreation center of similar design. A laundry/office building, built after 1961, is considered non-contributing to the NHL district; however the one-story, shed-roofed building blends well with the surrounding original buildings.

Along an adjacent service road known as Staff Street are six duplex and multiple housing units for permanent employees, added to the lodge complex prior to 1960. These buildings were also designed as one-story with overhanging shed roof. Several additional buildings for permanent employees were constructed in 1972 and 1990 on the north end of Staff Street; these are considered non-contributing to the NHL district. Located to the south of the main lodge, and greatly separated from the employee housing is the manager's residence, built in the 1960s.

East of the main lodge parking area, on a loop road on the east side of the entrance road, is the complex service area. The service station and horse stables located in this area are part of the original design of the lodge complex. Although equipment associated with the gas station has been updated, the building itself retains its original appearance. The one-story frame building has vertical wood siding and a shed roof with wide

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overhanging eaves. The horse stables are also one-story with vertical wood siding and overhanging shed roof. Two other buildings located in the service area, the telephone building and the medical building, were later constructions (the telephone building was extensively enlarged in the 1970s) and are non-contributing to the NHL district.

The nearby swimming pool, pool storage shed, and pool house, located between the main lodge parking area and the service area, were added in 1964. Constructed after the period of significance, these buildings and pool structure are considered non-contributing to the NHL district.

Hiking trails, walkways, driveways, and landscaped parking areas developed by the National Park Service ca. 1955 are considered to be contributing but are not counted. Hiking trails close to the main lodge, like the Lunch Tree Hill loop, are macadamed. Other trails farther away used for hiking and horseback riding are gravel. Walkways close to the building are exposed aggregate concrete. Other landscape features include benches placed on the flat terrace in front of the lodge with cast concrete bases and wooden seats. Plantings around the building consist of native species including pines, spruce and aspens. Lunch Tree Hill and other open ground are covered with sage. The choice of native plants around the buildings and understated manmade landscape features help the lodge complex to blend and even recede into its setting.

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Resource Count:

1 Contributing site

The site of Jackson Lake Lodge, as developed by the National Park Service circa 1955, including the hiking trails, walkways, driveways, landscaped parking areas, wood and concrete benches, and native species plantings.

38 Contributing buildings

Main lodge, JL-1

Recreation Center and Employee Lounge/Bar, JL-46

21 multi-unit "cottages" (motor court guest lodging)

Building #s (keyed to resource map):

South Court- JL-101 (10 units); JL-121 (4 units); JL-129 (8 units);

JL-100/301 (16 back-to-back units); JL-116/317 (16 back-to-back units);

JL-132/333 (16 back-to-back units); JL-300/501 (12 back-to-back units);

JL-312/513 (12 back-to-back units); JL-324/529 (8 back-to-back units);

JL-332/537 (16 back-to-back units)

North Court- JL-801/600 (12 back-to-back units); JL-813/612

(8 back-to-back units); JL-825/620 (12 back-to-back units); JL-601/400

(20 back-to-back units); JL-621/420 (8 back-to-back units); JL-629/428

(20 back-to-back units); JL-437/236 (12 back-to-back units); JL-425/224

(12 back-to-back units); JL-417/216 (8 back-to-back units); JL-401/200

(16 back-to-back units); JL-201 (6 units)

14 multi-unit employee housing buildings

Building #s (keyed to resource map):

Seasonal Dormitories- JL-44, JL-45, JL-47, JL-50, JL-51, JL-52,

JL-53

Permanent Housing- JL-35, JL-36, JL-37, JL-41, JL-42, JL-43

Stable, #JL-22

Gas Station, #JL-18

22 Non-contributing buildings

4 two-story multi-unit guest lodge buildings, ca. 1970s

Building #s: JL-350; JL-560; JL-900; and JL-700

4 multi-unit cottages, ca. 1964

Building #s: JL-500; JL-532; JL-516; and JL-546

Pool house, 1964, #JL-21

Pool maintenance shed, ca. 1964, #JL-21

Medical clinic, ca. 1985, #JL-19

Telephone building, 1954, addition, 1972, #JL-23

4 multi-unit employee residences, 1964, 1972 and 1990

Building #s: JL-48, JL-49, JL-54, JL-55

Laundry building in employee area, #JL-56

Seasonal Dormitory, #JL-57

3 multi-unit permanent employee residences, #s JL-38, JL-39, JL-40

Manager's Residence ca. 1960s (post-1961)

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Evaluation of Integrity:

The Jackson Lake Lodge complex retains a high level of visual integrity to its mid-1950s period of construction. There have been alterations over time, as expected with any building in continuous commercial use. The most notable alterations have been the widening of the staircase from the entrance lobby to the main lounge (1958), the widening of the windows of the guest rooms (1980s), the construction of the Blue Heron Lounge addition and the enlargement of the convention/office area (1990s). The alterations do not compromise the principal visual elements of the building such as the horizontal banding of windows, the overall low, long form, and the building as secondary to the experience of the vista it overlooks.

The cottages in the motor court have changed little on the exterior. Renovations on the interior of the cottages included updated bathroom fixtures and new furniture. Essential original features such as the floor plan, shadowood wallboard, built-in closets, and exposed rafters remain in place. Therefore, despite modernizing renovations, the cottages retain exceptional integrity to their original construction. While several newer buildings and structures have been added at the fringes of the district, they do not interrupt the overall motor court development of the motel units. In fact, several of the units added in the 1960s are nearly indistinguishable from the original cottages.

The system of driveways, walkways, and trails integral to the district remains unchanged and adds to the site as a whole contributing to the significance of the property.

The integrity of the Jackson Lake Lodge and its associated buildings to the period of significance, 1950-1955, the exceptional importance of the integrated modern/rustic architectural design of the building as a precursor to the modern architecture in the National Parks known as Mission 66, and its association with nationally renowned architect Gilbert Stanley Underwood, fulfill the registration requirements established by Sarah Allaback for Mission 66 - associated buildings in National Parks.

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8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties: Nationally: X Statewide: Locally:

Applicable National

Register Criteria: A<u>X</u>B_C<u>X</u>D

Criteria Considerations

(Exceptions): A_B_C_D_E_F_G<u>X</u>

NHL Criteria: 1 and 4

NHL Criteria Exceptions: 8

NHL Theme(s): III. Expressing Cultural Values

5. architecture, landscape architecture, and urban designs

IV. Transforming the Environment

3. protecting and preserving the environment

Areas of Significance: Architecture

Entertainment/Recreation

Conservation

Period(s) of Significance: 1935-1955

Significant Dates:

Significant Person(s): N/A

Cultural Affiliation: N/A

Architect/Builder: Gilbert Stanley Underwood, Architect

Morrison and Knudson, Builders

Historic Contexts: Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type

> XVI. Architecture Z. Modern

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State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

The Jackson Lake Lodge, designed by Gilbert Stanley Underwood, possesses exceptional national significance under NHL Criteria 1 and 4. The lodge and associated complex of guest cottages fall under the NHL Themes III (Expressing Cultural Values), Subtheme 5 (Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and Urban Design) and VII Transforming the Environment, Subtheme 3 (Protecting and preserving the environment). Although the property is less than fifty years old, the lodge qualifies under Criteria Exception 8 because of its extraordinary national importance.¹

The Jackson Lake Lodge district is significant under Criterion 1 for its association with events that have made significant contributions to the broad patterns of American history. Specifically, the lodge served as the design precursor for the National Park Service's Mission 66 program, which transformed the National Park system to meet dramatically increased visitation and visitor expectations during the postwar years. The design of the lodge, by successfully combining elements of the National Park Service rustic style and the increasingly popular American modernism, eased the transition to a new contemporary architectural vocabulary.

Jackson Lake Lodge fulfilled the vision of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. who had hoped the design and operation of the modern lodge would serve as "a pilot project" for future National Park Service facilities. Rockefeller, who played an instrumental role in the controversial creation of Grand Teton National Park in 1950, also hoped to ensure the public's continued support for the new unit. Both goals were achieved. Upon completion, the lodge garnered immediate and national coverage in contemporary design periodicals and generated discussion amongst federal planners and architects. The association of Rockefeller and his architect, Gilbert Stanley Underwood, with Jackson Lake Lodge legitimized the future adoption of modern architecture within the National Park system. With its new look and modern amenities, the lodge also guaranteed the continued patronage of the new middle class vacationers wishing to experience the national parks first-hand during the Cold War years.

The Jackson Lake Lodge is also significant under National Historic Landmark Criterion 4 as the first major building complex reflecting the modern movement in the National Park System. As such, the property represents the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type exceptionally valuable for the study of a period and style. Beginning in the 1920s and continuing until the outbreak of World War II, National Park Service architects developed and then refined the Rustic style of architecture as the predominate building tradition within the federal and state system of parks. Jackson Lake Lodge represented a clear break from this rustic style. Upon completion in 1955, the lodge was a prominent and influential example of how to successfully apply modern construction methods and a new architectural style within the national system of parks.

Jackson Lake Lodge also represents the last major work of Gilbert Stanley Underwood and the capstone of his distinguished architectural career. From a National Historic Landmark perspective, Underwood perhaps represents the most prominent and influential architect in the history of the National Park Service. Beginning in

¹ The historic context for this nomination can be found in Sarah Allaback's "Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type," which was prepared for the National Park Service in the year 2000. Although focusing on National Park Service visitor centers, the study clearly credits Jackson Lake Lodge with establishing a bold design precedent for the agency's acceptance of Modern architecture later that decade. Moreover, the National Historic Landmark registration requirements developed in Allaback's study are also readily applicable to National Park Service Visitor Centers during this post-war era.

² Laurence S. Rockefeller, "Jackson Lake Lodge Dedication," June 11, 1955 (Planning and Civic Comment), Jackson Lake Lodge vertical file, Jackson Hole Historical Society, Jackson, WY.

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1925 with his impressive design for the rustic lodge at Bryce National Park, Underwood maintained a productive and long lasting relationship with the National Park Service. Commissions for the Ahwahnee Lodge in Yosemite and the Grand Canyon Lodge along the north rim of the park, followed closely thereafter. All of these major works have received National Historic Landmark designations for their outstanding architectural merit. Jackson Lake Lodge represents the culmination of his work and heralded the transition from a rustic to modern architectural style within the National Park Service.

Historical Context

The Transition from Rustic to Modern

The design of the Jackson Lake Lodge was a dramatic departure from the Rustic-style buildings dictated by the National Park Service for buildings within the western scenic parks throughout the 1920s and '30s. The outbreak of World War II brought about changes in popular culture, which precipitated a change in attitude within the park service toward the modernization and functional utility of park buildings. Advances in building materials and design accompanied a growing desire among the rapidly developing middle class in the U.S. for everything modern. During this transitional period within the park service, prior to the establishment of the Mission 66 policy, the Jackson Lake Lodge design, by architect Gilbert Stanley Underwood combining both the modern International style and elements of the traditional Rustic style, managed to bridge the gap.

The building was constructed "around a picture window," which although unorthodox in its design within the national park setting, in fact achieved its goal of presenting the panorama of the Grand Teton mountain range through the innovative use of the International style's emphasis on horizontal ribbons of windows. Such uninterrupted views of the entire range, as well as the lake and willow flats in the foreground, would have been difficult to achieve within a strict interpretation of the Rustic style. Significantly also, the low profile of the lodge building, and the associated buildings within the complex, combined with plantings of the local conifers, allows the Jackson Lake Lodge to all but disappear into the landscape.

While emphasizing the wilderness panorama, the modern design of the Jackson Lake Lodge represented a complete modernization of visitor accommodations in the National Parks. Not only did the lodge provide comfortable hotel rooms with all the modern conveniences, it included two restaurants, a newsstand, several gift shops, a bar, and full convention facilities. The complex included ample parking space for automobiles, the transportation vehicle of choice for the 1950s traveling middle class. The cottages were arranged in motor courts, their interiors equally as comfortable as those in the lodge. Affordable rates, made possible by the use of modern construction materials and the non-profit status of the Grand Teton Lodge Company, made the Jackson Lake Lodge complex the ideal vision for the future of the National Parks.

The saga of the establishment and expansion of the Grand Teton National Park, described by author Robert Righter as the "Crucible for Conservation," serves as a reminder of the difficulties faced in the attempts to protect and preserve the natural environment. Throughout the several decades John D. Rockefeller, Jr. devoted to the purchase and preservation of lands in Jackson Hole, his constant stated purpose was to make the unparalleled scenic beauty of the Grand Teton range available to the general American public. Following the long-awaited expansion of the park in 1950, Rockefeller's final contribution was the establishment of modern, affordable lodging for the growing numbers of visitors to the park.

Historically National Park Service development has focused on the need to preserve views and avoid destruction of the landscape, while encouraging visitation in the parks. Central to this directive was the need to

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concentrate lodging in designated areas. To this end, the Jackson Lake Lodge complex was constructed between 1953 and 1955. John D. Rockefeller's vision of wilderness conservation was perfectly represented by the design of the Jackson Lake Lodge. The lodge building's low profile removed it from the scene, while the liberal use of large banks of windows focused all attention outward. Visitors to the lodge left remembering the view rather than the building. The cottages grouped behind the main lodge building followed the established Park Service design of clustering accommodations to minimize their impact on the wilderness. The complex served as a platform from which to view the unspoiled panorama of the Teton Range and willow flats below. It also provided comfortable accommodations, transportation throughout the park and to nearby Yellowstone National Park, and designated hiking and riding trails.

The unparalleled view at the Jackson Lake Lodge has since served as a backdrop to highlight the conservation agendas of a number of nationally prominent people. President John F. Kennedy enjoyed the comfortable overnight accommodations at the lodge complex in September of 1963, at which time he highlighted his Conservation and Natural Resources Development Tour of the western states. In 1964, First Lady Lady Bird Johnson stayed at the lodge for three days in August during her western tour. President and First Lady Bill and Hillary Clinton in 1995 visited the lodge while on vacation, promoting the president's environmental initiatives and celebrating the 75th anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment from the terrace with the Grand Teton mountain range in view behind them.

The National Historic Landmark Theme Study, "Architecture in the Parks," by Laura Harrison, provided the context for National Park architecture to the period just prior to the design and construction of the Jackson Lake Lodge.³ In summary, Harrison noted the distinctive Rustic-styled architecture constructed in the parks through the 1920s and '30s.

> Concessioners tended to have their architects design buildings that enhanced their parks' sense of place and left images as memorable as the natural spectacles themselves. National Park Service architects and landscape architects tended to construct more subtle buildings that harmonized with the surrounding landscape or sometimes even receded into it through meticulous use of natural materials in an appropriated scale; through use of forms and massing related to the surrounding topography; and through careful site design.4

Funding and labor associated with 1930s New Deal construction programs, like the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA), which facilitated the building of these labor and material intensive Rustic designs, began to disappear in the late 1930s and were altogether gone with WWII. Popular culture was transitioning as well to a preference for the progressive, clean-line image of the modern architectural styles presented by architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright, Walter Gropius, and Richard Neutra through the 1920s and '30s.⁵

Modern architecture within the National Park Service appeared shortly after the war in 1947 when Eero Saarinen's thoroughly modern, stainless steel design for the Gateway Arch at Jefferson National Expansion Memorial National Historic Site was selected.⁶ Seen as suited for its urban location, the Gateway Arch design

³ Laura S. Harrison, Architecture in the Parks National Historic Landmark Theme Study (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1986).

⁵ Sarah Allaback, Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type (Washington, DC: US Dept. of Interior, NPS, Park Historic Structures and Cultural Landscapes Program, 2000), 8.

⁶ Harrison, Architecture in the Parks, 9.

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received more positive criticism than the early attempts at integrating modernism into 'wilderness' parks. Unfortunately, lack of funding prevented completion of the architectural sculpture until 1968.

> News of modern architectural development immediately provoked an outcry from environmentalists and nostalgic visitors. One of the most outspoken critics of the new style was Devereux Butcher of the National Parks Association. As early as 1952, Butcher wrote of his horror at finding contemporary buildings in Great Smoky Mountains and Everglades and criticized the Park Service for abandoning its "long-established policy of designing buildings that harmonize with their environment and with existing styles."⁷

Yet, these structures tended to be rare, isolated, and relatively modest building projects compared to what was soon to be constructed at the base of the Grand Tetons.⁸

Mission 66⁹

The post-WWII period in the United States marked the enormous expansion of the traveling middle class with high expectations for progressive accommodations. Increased visitation within the National Parks, always a goal among park service administrators, brought with it overcrowding and wilderness deterioration. At the same time, budget appropriations to parks were at low, wartime levels. Then Park Service director Newton Drury identified this "dilemma of our parks" in 1949. In 1951, Conrad Wirth took over as director and began formulating a plan for the modernization of the parks later known as Mission 66. Conceived as a ten-year construction and funding plan beginning in 1956:

> Mission 66 would allow the Park Service to repair and build roads, bridges and trails, hire additional employees, construct new facilities ranging from campsites to administration buildings, improve employee housing, and obtain land for future parks. This effort would require more than 670 million dollars over the next decade. From its birth, Mission 66 was touted as a program to elevate the parks to modern standards of comfort and efficiency, as well as an attempt to conserve natural resources.11

Although Mission 66 provided the funding necessary for needed park improvements, it was clear that the traditional Rustic style of park architecture was both too expensive and stylistically dated to fill the needs of the new Park Service mission. Modern, mass-produced materials and functional design concepts became necessary components of Park Service construction. ¹² The architecture of Mission 66, symbolic of the progressive modern lifestyle Americans were becoming accustomed to, was what people wanted.

Modern Architecture in the Parks and the Role of Gilbert Stanley Underwood

⁷ Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitors Centers*, 11.

⁸ At least initially, National Park Service buildings reflecting American Modernism tended be small scale and isolated, such as the public use buildings constructed at Carlsbad Caverns (1953-1956), the Visitor Center at the Grand Canyon designed by Cecil Doty (1954-1955), and the John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s concessionaire facility at Caneel Bay, Virgin Islands, before the national park was created in 1956.

⁹ The Mission 66 theme study was developed by Sarah Allaback, "Mission 66 Visitor Centers, The History of a Building Type" (Washington, DC: US Dept. of Interior, NPS, Park Historic Structures and Cultural Landscapes Program, 2000).

¹⁰ Allaback, Mission 66 Visitors Centers, 1.

¹¹ Ibid, 3.

¹² Allaback, Mission 66 Visitors Centers, 1-10.

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Nationally prominent architect Gilbert Stanley Underwood began design of the Jackson Lake Lodge complex in 1950. Privately funded by the Grand Teton Lodge and Transportation Company, a non-profit concessionaire company established by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the state-of-the-art complex of buildings would break the long-established tradition of Rustic-styled architecture in the National Parks. At the same time the facilities at the complex reflected the expectations of the post-World War II traveling middle class, with emphasis placed on progress, leisure time, and perceived affluence.

The two decades following World War II constituted one of the longest periods of sustained economic growth that the United States has ever known. The ability of the United States to produce had not been damaged during the war as had happened with many of the European nations. Because of shortages during the war, Americans saved their money and now had spendable funds to use for purchases. New technology, some of it developed through the war effort, led to the production and availability of new appliances and gadgets, which people because of high employment rates and savings were able to buy. Televisions, transistorized radios, kitchen aids of all types and above all the automobile, were produced and purchased in large numbers. People who were reticent about spending were enticed by the new enlarged advertising industry, installment loan programs and credit purchasing. John Kenneth Galbraith's "affluent society" had come into being.

One of the most important manifestations of the new affluence was the use of the automobile. New cars were impossible to get during the war. Afterward, Americans were eager to spend their money on new cars and to use them for travel. With the increased availability of time and money for travel, as well as availability of cars to travel in, vacation destinations, particularly National Parks, were increasingly overrun with visitors. National Parks and their lodging concessionaires were woefully unprepared for the new affluence. By the 1950s, "concessionaires' facilities were outmoded and deteriorated, the grand hotels of the 1910s no longer appealed to the modern visitor, and the cabins of the 1920s and 1930s failed to meet modern-day visitor expectations for comfort and privacy." 13

The image of progress and affluence seen in 'modern' architecture, which had been steadily defining itself since the 1930s, was important to the new American postwar society. The change in thinking about architecture extended to the National Park Service as well. Faced with increased visitation and low budgets, Conrad Wirth, appointed Park Service Director in 1951, began formulating a plan to improve park facilities beginning in 1956 that would be known as Mission 66 for its expected completion date of 1966. Sarah Allaback noted in her discussion of the development of Mission 66 architecture:

Modern architecture expressed progress, efficiency, health, and innovation – values the Park Service hoped to embody over the next decade.

The social acceptance of modernism and its use in the parks was also a matter of urgency and economics. The Park Service needed to serve huge numbers of people as quickly as possible, and, despite increased funding, it had to do so on a limited budget. The materials that modern buildings were composed of – inexpensive steel, concrete, and glass – allowed more facilities to be built for more parks.¹⁴

Fortunately, a precedent for the modernization of National Park facilities had been provided by the construction of the Jackson Lake Lodge between 1953 and 1955. Its unabashed use of modern materials and modern design prepared the way for the 1956 publication of the Mission 66 plan.

¹³ Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 462.

¹⁴ Allaback, Mission 66 Visitors Centers, 13-14.

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Despite its modern appearance, the Jackson Lake Lodge was truly a transitional building, employing significant features reminiscent of the more traditional Rustic architecture. If John D. Rockefeller, Jr. had full intentions of building a modern complex that would recall the Rustic tradition, his choice of architect Gilbert Stanley Underwood could not have been better.

Underwood trained as an architect in the first decades of the twentieth century, at the time the Mission and Craftsman architectural styles came to full development. Beginning as a draftsman in the office of California architect Anthony Beimer in 1909, he continued apprenticing under Franklin Burnham of Los Angeles. In 1911, Underwood began an apprenticeship with noted Mission Revival style architect Arthur Benton, and later with Craftsman style architect Arthur Kelly. Following these important early experiences, Underwood moved to the University of Illinois in 1912, where he met and married his wife Mary Elizabeth, and met perhaps his most influential life-long friend, Daniel Hull. While working to support his wife and growing family, Underwood continued his higher education, receiving his B.A. at Yale University in 1920. In 1921, he enrolled at Harvard where he earned his Master's degree. After graduating in 1923, Underwood moved to Los Angeles and established his own architectural firm. Underwood's early experience with architects in the southwest, as well as the friends he had made whom the Park Service later employed, uniquely prepared him for the design of Rustic style architecture in the National Park setting.¹⁵

The idea of a distinct architectural style for the National Park setting had begun in 1903 with the construction of the Old Faithful Inn in Yellowstone National Park. It was further defined through a series of hotels and auxiliary buildings built by railroad company concessionaires and designed to attract tourists to the remote park locations served by their railroad lines. Drawing heavily on the ideas of the Arts and Crafts movement, "these buildings integrated the concerns for setting, structure, and decorative arts into a single unified and harmonious form that suited the natural surroundings of the parks where they were located." Appointed as the first director of the National Park Service in 1916, Stephen T. Mather encouraged the refinement of the park architectural style that was developing.

Through his friendship with Daniel Hull, who worked as assistant to Director Mather, Underwood submitted a design for the post office building at Yosemite Village. Although the original design was significantly altered before construction, Underwood apparently developed an understanding of the Park Service vision of architecture from this experience.¹⁷ Shortly after the Yosemite design, Underwood was recommended by both Mather and Hull to the Union Pacific (UP) Railroad Company for their plans to develop hotels in several Utah parks.

Employed through the UP railroad concessions subsidiary, the Utah Parks Company, Underwood designed Rustic styled buildings at Bryce Canyon and Zion Canyon (1925), and Grand Canyon North Rim (1927+). Underwood's designs brought a fresh interpretation to park architecture, and Mather and Hull were pleased with the results. Joyce Zaitlin observed in her discussion of Underwood's career:

In the lodges at Zion as well as at Bryce built at the same time, Underwood began for the first time to develop his own interpretation of the Rustic style; to utilize rustic architectural elements in a new and dramatic fashion. The style he

¹⁵ Joyce Zaitlin, Gilbert Stanley Underwood: His Rustic, Art Deco, and Federal Architecture (Malibu, CA: Pangloss Press, 1989), 4-14.

¹⁶ McClelland, Building the National Parks, 111.

¹⁷ Zaitlin, Gilbert Stanley Underwood, 26-27.

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developed utilized native materials arranged to form a variety of massive volumes. Often he contrasted this with an infill of glazing which imparted a lighter effect. The results so embodied the ideas of the NPS that they helped to set a direction for Park architecture for some time to come. 18

At Mather's insistence, the Zion lodge complex included a large number of cabins for accommodations in order to reduce the size of the lodge.

Although all of the designs used native stone and pine construction with the requisite exposed heavy wood trusses, Underwood additionally used modern materials, steel framing and concrete, hidden beneath the rustic exterior. 19 In 1925, Underwood was given the opportunity to expand his unique interpretation of the Rustic style with the design for the Ahwahnee Hotel to be constructed at Yosemite National Park by the concessionaire Yosemite Park and Curry Company. Because of its remote location, the Park Service required that the building be 'fireproof.' Additionally, it was to be available for use year-round and be luxurious enough to attract highpaying visitors who would highlight the park as a destination. Stephen Mather recommended Gilbert Stanley Underwood for the design.²⁰

The monumental site chosen for the Ahwahnee called for a monumental design, which Underwood achieved through his use of the dominant vertical stone pillars and towers, and the massive size of the hotel itself. However, the use of fireproof materials in the construction of the hotel resulted in Underwood's signature use of concealed steel framing and wood-grained concrete. Zaitlin described the hotel's unusual design:

> At first glance the Ahwahnee appears to be held up by a series of heavy stone pillars connected with a lighter, wooden infill. While Underwood originally did plan to construct the hotel's upper floors of wood, we know that all of the structure (with the exception of the dining room's roof framing) was in reality made of stained concrete and steel. The architect's specifications reveal the way in which the concrete was colored.

> The section drawing which cuts through the Grand Lounge indicates the size of the beams which were required to support the steel and concrete structure. The huge stone columns on the hotel's ground floor were clearly formed for aesthetic purposes, to provide a sense of dramatic scale. This attention to proportions (creating in this case what Underwood preferred to call "megalithic elements" so that the building would not be under-scaled in relation to the surrounding large trees and rough terrain) is present in most of the architect's work.²¹

Zaitlin continued:

Some may chuckle about the deception in creating a modern structure so clearly related to a Romantic concept of beauty, but others marvel at the designer's skill in using modern materials to produce a Rustic design so sympathetic to the Arts and Crafts movement. Underwood's early apprenticeship experiences undoubtedly helped him to understand the Rustic qualities the Park Service

¹⁹ Harrison, Architecture in the Parks, 5.

¹⁸ Ibid., 42-43.

²⁰ Ibid., 247; "Ahwahnee Hotel" documentation.

²¹ Zaitlin, Gilbert Stanley Underwood, 70-71.

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required.²²

Underwood's innovations were continued with the Grand Canyon North Rim Lodge design, in which large plate glass windows were included in the lounge design through which to view the canyon expanse below.²³ Clearly, Gilbert Stanley Underwood was up to the challenge of combining styles and materials in the National Park setting that would satisfy the vision and requirements of both the concessionaire and the Park Service.

Through the late 1920s and into the 1930s, Underwood continued to design for the Utah Parks Company as well as designing station facilities for the Union Pacific Railroad Company, ending with his remarkable Art Deco design for the Omaha Station in 1929.²⁴ In 1932, reflecting the difficulties of the Depression, Underwood joined the Federal Architects Project.²⁵ He remained with the Federal government throughout the 1930s and '40s, designing primarily post office and courthouse buildings, expanding his experience to include more modern designs and nearly exclusive use of steel and reinforced concrete construction. Noted among those buildings was the new San Francisco Mint, constructed in 1936; it was described by local media as having, "an exceptionally sturdy steel framework and heavy exterior walls of reinforced concrete and granite."26 The rather stark Neo-Classical design was typical of federal buildings and was similarly repeated with Underwood's 1940 United States Courthouse at Seattle, Washington, described as "Federal Art Deco, a Modernistic Style that, while employing classical proportions and massing, exhibits a 'stripped-down' appearance." Perhaps Underwood's most famous federal building was the State Department building in Washington, DC, designed in 1938-39. Underwood's success in designing for the federal government culminated with his appointment in 1947 as Supervising Architect of the United States. 28 He served in that position until 1949. Throughout Underwood's federal service he continued to accept private hotel design contracts including the Sun Valley Lodge in Idaho and the Williamsburg Lodge, designed for John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in 1939 as the cornerstone of the resort facilities for the Colonial Williamsburg project.

In 1950, Underwood was contracted to design a lodge complex for the concessionaire company owned by Rockefeller in the newly expanded Grand Teton National Park. Rockefeller had previously chosen the site, on a terrace overlooking Jackson Lake, to take full advantage of a spectacular view of the Teton mountain range. Rockefeller was already familiar with the abilities of his architect through their work at Colonial Williamsburg. He would also have been aware of Underwood's reputation as an innovative designer within the Rustic genre through his close relationship with Horace Albright. Albright was a career Park Service administrator, serving under Stephen Mather and eventually becoming director himself in 1929 (until 1933), and had been deeply involved with Rockefeller in the development of the expanded Grand Teton National Park. Little construction had occurred within the parks throughout the 1940s, and the post-war attraction to progressive, modern design expressed by the general public was being felt in the Park Service as well. No doubt these considerations were on the mind of Rockefeller in his final choice of architect for his modern park lodge complex.²⁹

²² Ibid., 71.

²³ Ibid., 96-98.

²⁴ Ibid., 124.

²⁵ Rodd L. Wheaton, "Gilbert Stanley Underwood, 1890-1960," *National Park Service: The First 75 Years, Biographical Vignettes*, <www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/sontag/underwood.htm>.

²⁶ P.G. and E. Progress, "New Mint Strong as a Fortress," 1936, Museum of the City of San Francisco, www.sfmuseum.org/.

²⁷ U.S. General Services Administration, "Historic Federal Buildings," Architect: Gilbert Stanley Underwood, <www.gsa.gov/web/p/interaia.nsi/>.

²⁸ Wheaton, "Gilbert Stanley Underwood, 1890-1960."

²⁹ Although there is no record of how deeply involved Rockefeller was in the design of Jackson Lake Lodge, it seems likely that he would have expressed to his architect his desire to have a modern building. Whether he requested inclusion of Rustic elements or Underwood included them because of his previous park experiences, is also unknown.

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Underwood's design of the Jackson Lake Lodge was a significant departure from the more traditional Rustic lodges found throughout the western scenic National Parks. Without any reference to the traditional native or frontier buildings of the region, the design of the lodge was influenced by the modern International Style in which 'form follows function.' In keeping with the modern style, the building was constructed using modern materials, primarily reinforced concrete and steel, and employed long horizontal ribbons of windows and low shed roofs.

A New York Times article written in 1955 following the official opening of the Jackson Lake Lodge, probably best described the 1950s response to the architecture:

> To the many Westerners who feel the Jackson Lake Lodge is, to say the least, unbeautiful, its chief drawback is this lack of a western style. To qualify as an example of this style, a building must be a rambling log or native-stone structure, preferably with a steeply slanted roof.

> Critics of Jackson Lake Lodge have called it "outlandish" and described it as "a steamship without smokestacks."

> On the other side, supporters of Architect Underwood postulate that a building's function determines its exterior. Deriding the Yellowstone Lodge at Old Faithful as "timberland rococo" and inefficient to boot, this school points out that Jackson Lodge is concrete and steel – therefore fireproof. Its roof-line, seemingly flat when viewed from the west, is, in reality, broken by several sloping eaves and "built the way it is so as to bear the snowload most efficiently." That is a major factor in this land where snow lies ten feet deep in midwinter, causing leaks and even the collapse of poorly engineered roofs.

> It is further pointed out that the "slab-sided concrete" has been treated to resemble wood paneling, as a gesture to lovers of timber. In addition, the lodge is so situated as to be nearly hidden from near-by highways and Jackson Lake, and will be virtually invisible from most sectors of Grand Teton National Park when landscaping is completed.

> Most important of all, according to this school of thought, form follows function in the new lodge. The main structure is built around a two-story, sixty-foot picture window in the big handsome lounge.³⁰

Although shocking in its appearance to some, the 'modern' Jackson Lake Lodge was actually well suited to its environment and to its function, that is, to view the scenery (rather than to be viewed itself). The building 'built around a picture window' was key to the design of the lodge. Prior to the construction of Jackson Lake Lodge no other Park lodge design could have accommodated the massive windows of the Lounge, which provided the unprecedented panoramic view of the wilderness, the primary purpose of a visit to the Grand Tetons. It was important also to both the Park Service and to Rockefeller that the buildings of the complex should disappear into the landscape when viewed from a distance, allowing the visitor to concentrate solely on the natural landscape instead.³¹

Underwood, already a master at combining stylistic influences, did not limit himself to strict International or Rustic design. His earlier lodge designs, especially the Ahwahnee Hotel and the Grand Canyon North Rim

³⁰ Jack Goodman, "Controversy Over Lodge in the West," *The New York Times*, August 7, 1955, copy from the Jackson Hole Historical Society, Jackson Lake Lodge vertical file, Jackson, WY.

³¹ It is probably significant as well that the lodge complex can be viewed from a distance from only one spot, near the Jackson Lake dam, from where it is difficult to discern within the landscape.

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lodge, had used an Art Deco influenced emphasis on the vertical, reflecting their respective settings. The profoundly horizontal design of the Jackson Lake Lodge, reminiscent of Wright's Prairie School style, was well suited to the relatively horizontal terrain of the terrace on which the lodge complex was sited. Underwood emphasized the horizontal primarily through the low profile of the building, the shallow shed roofs with wide overhanging eaves, the long banks of windows across the façade, and a series of terraces across the west elevation. The low profile and shed roof with overhanging eaves was repeated on every building throughout the complex. With the maturation of the native pines planted around the buildings, the complex receded from view, leaving the panorama of the mountains the primary focus of attention.

Although the visual purpose of Jackson Lake Lodge was to view the landscape, its physical purpose was to accommodate visitors. The design of the building provided for this in two ways: first, by including Rustic elements which implied western comfort and hospitality, and second, by catering to the expectations of the traveling middle class expected to be the primary occupants of the lodge complex.

Perhaps not quite prepared to relinquish the comfort implied by wood construction and the warmth of the hearth, Underwood included significant Rustic elements in his thoroughly modern building. The poured concrete slab exterior of the building was formed using shadowood forms. The process began with plywood boards lightly sandblasted to raise their wood grain; the boards were then placed in the concrete forms against which the poured concrete would 'set-up' producing a wood grain image on the concrete exterior. Underwood had used this process previously on the concrete of the Ahwahnee Hotel, and, like the Ahwahnee, he had the concrete stained brown to further imitate a wood surface. Although the brown coloring of the concrete also helped the building disappear into the landscape on a large scale, the stained wood grain, visible only at the personal scale, provided a warmer exterior surface. Similarly, stone facing was used only in areas that would be visible to occupants, rather than used to blend the building into the landscape. Found at the main entrance and in the Lounge, the stone enhanced the rustic feeling of the building on a personal level. The Lounge featured additional significant Rustic elements, the two large fireplaces and the massive (apparent) wood trusses above. Actually steel beams encased with shadowood and painted to appear as natural wood beams, the trusses and the fireplaces were likely intended to soften the atmosphere of the large room and create a 'homey' feeling. Viewed by New York Times reporter Jack Goodman in 1955, he noted, "...the interior decor seems an elegant, artful blend of comfortable modern with western."32

'Comfortable modern' was the second key to the success of the new lodge complex at Grand Teton. The Jackson Lake Lodge complex was located on a terrace previously occupied by an earlier 'Jackson Lake Lodge.' The earlier lodge was a traditional rustic log lodge with accompanying log cabins. Also known as the Amoretti Inn, it was built in 1922 and considered modern for its time, including indoor plumbing in the cabins. Sockefeller's Grand Teton Lodge and Transportation Company apparently considered these relatively primitive lodgings insufficient. More than just a need for more rooms to accommodate increasing visitation at the park, Rockefeller appears to have sought to update accommodations to meet the expectations of the middle class of the 1950s who were becoming accustomed to the modern motel. To that end, the old Jackson Lake Lodge was swept away, and the new lodge complex was not only modern on its exterior, but it provided modern rooms, modern services, and catered to the modern dependence on the automobile.

The local newspaper, *The Jackson Hole Guide*, described the new lodge facilities in June 1955:

The Jackson Lake Lodge has a complete laundry, extensive kitchen and food service

³² Goodman, The New York Times, Aug. 7, 1955.

³³ "A Short History of Jackson Lake Lodge," (Jackson Hole: The Grand Teton Lodge Company, 1999), 1.

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facilities, employee's cafeteria and dormitories, and staff cottages. There is a 600-seat auditorium with sound and motion picture equipment. Each of the 300 rooms offers Cottage guests have the conveniences of motel telephone and room service. accommodations in addition to the normal services of a large, modern hotel.³⁴

Each room, both in the lodge and the cottages, was provided with two double beds, dressers, and comfortable lounge chairs, closets and shelves, as well as a private, modern bathroom. The cottage rows were designed like motel courts, with parking available directly in front of the room to which one was registered.

Not only were modern rooms, services (including an on-site gas station) and convenient automobile parking provided, the grandness of the main lodge building, accessible to all, enhanced the sense of affluence that the middle class sought in their accommodations. Arrival at the main building was through the large porte-cochere with lodge employees there to greet visitors. After passing through registration on the lower floor, visitors ascended the central stairway to the voluminous lounge to be immediately presented with the panoramic view of the Grand Tetons through the massive windows before them.³⁵ The state-of-the-art Pioneer Grill, with the world's longest continuous counter, was conveniently located just off the Lounge, as was the coffee shop-dining room. The Stockade Room bar, a gift shop and newsstand were located in the grand stair hall. Finishing touches included commissioned wildlife paintings by local artist Carl Rungius on the walls of the lounge and the "Trapper Murals" painted by Carl Roters, which covered the walls of the coffee shop-dining room (now known as the Mural Room). 36 The New York City interior design firm of James McCutcheon and Company designed the original furniture, modern in its form, but using natural colors found in the surrounding landscape.³⁷

Despite the provision of special amenities more often associated with hotels for the wealthy, the Jackson Lake Lodge was owned by the Grand Teton Lodge and Transportation Company, a non-profit subsidiary of the Jackson Hole Preserve, Inc., and was intended and priced for use by middle class travelers. The nonprofit status of the lodge complex's owner allowed for surprisingly low rates. This was John D. Rockefeller's "gift to the people." Rockefeller's intention, according to his son Laurance, was to present the Jackson Lake Lodge as a "pilot project" for future facilities in the National Parks. The purpose being, to show that cost saving modern designs, materials, and construction techniques could produce up-to-date, affordable accommodations for the growing numbers of visitors to the parks.

In many ways, the Jackson Lake Lodge did serve as a pilot project. Shortly after Underwood had completed his architectural design for Jackson Lake Lodge, several other smaller building projects were initiated within the National Park Service. "Public use" buildings (later dubbed visitor centers) at Carlsbad Caverns and Grand Canyon, were begun in 1953 and 1955 with the open plan, low-profile features soon to be associated with the Mission 66 'Park Service Modern' architectural style. None were as ambitious, however, as the large lodge complex constructed in the wilderness setting of the Grand Teton National Park.

Significantly, NPS Director Conrad Wirth was present at the June 1955 dedication of the new Jackson Lake

³⁴ Jackson (Wyoming) Hole Guide, June 1955. Newspaper is located at the Teton County Library in Jackson Hole, Wyoming.

³⁵ The central stairs, originally narrower, were rebuilt in 1958 slightly wider and longer, adding to the 'grand' feeling of the approach to the Lounge.

³⁶ "A Short History of Jackson Lake Lodge," 7.

³⁸ Goodman, The New York Times, Aug. 7, 1955.

³⁹ Laurance Rockefeller, "Jackson Lake Lodge Dedication," June 11, 1955 (originally published in Planning and Civic Comment), copy from Jackson Hole Historical Society, Jackson Lake Lodge vertical file, Jackson, WY.

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Lodge complex. Wirth had begun formulating his plan for new construction in the parks (Mission 66) in February, a "program to elevate the parks to modern standards of comfort and efficiency, as well as an attempt to conserve natural resources."⁴⁰ His vision, however, focused more on visitor facilities such as visitor centers, campgrounds, picnic grounds, roads and hiking paths. But like the low-profile design of the Jackson Lake Lodge, the new functional park architecture, soon to be classified as 'Park Service Modern,' was designed not to be viewed but to enhance the visitor's ability to view, understand, and enjoy the landscape around it:

> Stripped of most overtly decorative or associative elements, the architects typically employed textured concrete with panels of stone veneer, painted steel columns, and flat roofs with projecting flat terraces. These were established formal elements of the modern idiom, but they also often allowed the sometimes large and complex buildings to maintain a low, horizontal profile that remained as unobtrusive as possible....

> Park Service Modern buildings were no longer truly part of the park landscape, in this sense, since they were not sited or designed to be part of picturesque landscape compositions.⁴¹

Perhaps unaware of his influence on the future of Park Service architecture, Underwood retired to Florida following the completion of his contract for the Jackson Lake Lodge. His experience at Grand Teton had apparently been difficult and his health was declining. In 1960, Gilbert Stanley Underwood died of cancer. 42

After its grand opening in 1955 Jackson Lake Lodge quickly became the accommodation of choice for ordinary visitors as well as movie stars. But more importantly, with its breathtaking view of the Grand Teton mountain range, the lodge served as a stage to highlight national conservation issues coming to the political forefront in the 1960s and '70s. Jackson Lake Lodge was thrust into national view during President Kennedy's 1963 Conservation and Natural Resources Development Tour and Mrs. Johnson's tour of the west in 1964. As recently as 1995, President Bill Clinton used a vacation trip to Yellowstone and Grand Teton National Parks, including a visit to the Jackson Lake Lodge, to highlight his environmental initiatives. The remote location, convention facilities, and serene views of the Jackson Lake Lodge influenced the decision to locate there the preliminary U.S. - Soviet talks in 1989 between Secretary of State James Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and Jackson Lake Lodge

The Jackson Lake Lodge complex was the culmination of the conservation vision of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and the National Park Service for Grand Teton National Park. The mission of more than twenty-five years began as a picnic on the hill, later known as Lunch Tree Hill, overlooking Jackson Lake and the willow flats with the wide panorama of the Grand Teton mountain range beyond. Jackson Lake Lodge would eventually be sited adjacent to Rockefeller's favored picnic spot. The political difficulties faced by Rockefeller, Horace Albright and those who helped in the fight to preserve Jackson Hole, have been characterized as the "Crucible for Conservation" by Robert Righter, who recorded the struggle to expand the Grand Teton National Park. 43 The establishment of the Jackson Lake Lodge facility in 1955 served to highlight the important scenic preservation achieved by Rockefeller and the Park Service in the expansion of the park, and would prove to be a

⁴⁰ Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitors Centers*, 3.

⁴¹ Allaback, Mission 66 Visitors Centers, 23.

⁴² Zaitlin, Gilbert Stanley Underwood, 162-163.

⁴³ Robert W. Righter, Crucible For Conservation: The Struggle For Grand Teton National Park (Moose, WY: Grand Teton Natural History Association, 2000).

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turning point in the National Park Service approach to visitor facilities in National Parks.

The seed for the conservation of the Grand Teton Mountains had been sown as early as 1915 when Stephen Mather and his assistant Horace Albright visited the region, one year before the National Park Service was officially established with Mather as its director. Albright was particularly moved by the beauty of the mountains and the flat lands to the east known as Jackson Hole. Calls for inclusion of the area within the National Park System were initiated by fears that unbridled commercial development in the region would eventually destroy its natural beauty. This idea, however, faced fierce resistance from local cattle ranchers as well as the Forest Service under whose jurisdiction the surrounding forestlands fell. Throughout his tenure as superintendent at Yellowstone National Park (1919-1929), Albright continued to work for an expansion of the Yellowstone park south, to include the Grand Tetons and Jackson Hole.⁴⁴

In the summer of 1926, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and his family, while vacationing in the west, spent several remarkable days with Horace Albright touring Jackson Hole.

> The first day they picnicked on a hill (now "Lunch Tree Hill" adjacent to Jackson Lake Lodge) overlooking Jackson Lake. Five moose browsed contentedly in the marsh below them. Across the lake spread the majestic Teton Range. It was a day and a view destined to have a lasting impression on Rockefeller. The following morning they continued south toward Jackson, visiting the Bar BC and the JY ranches; dude ranches owned by Struthers Burt, Horace Carncross and Henry Stewart, all avid supporters of the plan to make Jackson Hole a national recreational area. Rockefeller and his wife were profoundly impressed by the Leigh-String-Jenny Lake region, but were appalled by the encroaching commercialism. A rather tawdry dancehall seemed inappropriate, "unsightly structures" marred the road, and telephone wires bisected the Teton view. Jackson Hole seemed destined for the ubiquitous uglification coincidental with unplanned tourist development.⁴⁵

By 1927, Rockefeller and Albright had formulated a plan to begin quietly purchasing thousands of acres in Jackson Hole to ensure its preservation as part of the Grand Teton view shed. His plan focused primarily on land in northern Jackson Hole (above the frontier town of Jackson) on both the east and west sides of the Snake River, noting, "the marvelous scenic beauty of the Teton Mountains and the Lakes at their feet, ... are seen at their best from the Jackson Hole Valley."46 As had been done previously with acreage he purchased in Maine, which ultimately were given to the Federal government to create Acadia National Park, it was Mr. Rockefeller's intention to eventually donate the land for an extension of Yellowstone National Park. In order to purchase the land at reasonable prices, Rockefeller established the Snake River Land Company, allowing his philanthropic endeavor to proceed anonymously.⁴⁷

Significant local and state opposition to the Jackson Hole preservation plan resulted in a compromise in 1929, in which a smaller Grand Teton National Park was established. The new park encompassed only the mountain range itself and the Jenny and Leigh lakes (all previously under Forest Service jurisdiction), leaving the valley

⁴⁴ Ibid., 22-31.

⁴⁵ Righter, Crucible for Conservation, 46. Righter cites at the end of this paragraph a letter from Horace Albright to Wilford Neilson, April 5, 1933, found in a booklet published by the Snake River Land Company in 1933 entitled Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s Proposed Gift, 24.

⁴⁶ Raymond P. Fosdick, John D. Rockefeller, Jr.: A Portrait (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956), 311-312, from a letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to his assistant Col. Arthur Woods.

⁴⁷ Ibid.. 303 and 312.

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in jeopardy. 48 Reflecting the long-range vision of those involved, the Snake River Land Company continued to purchase land with a view now to eventual expansion of the newly created park.

Several land purchases around the year 1928 moved the Snake River Land Company into the business of visitor accommodation. Two lodges were in operation in the area of Moran at the time of their purchases, the Teton Lodge in the town of Moran and the Jackson Lake Lodge (Amoretti Inn) just to the north. The Teton Lodge Company was created as a subsidiary of the Snake River Land Company to serve as the lessee for the lodging operations. The company included investors associated with Rockefeller as well as local residents. It eventually merged with the Teton Transportation Company under the name of the Teton Investment Company. 49 Since the old Jackson Lake Lodge was not originally within the boundary of the planned land purchases in Jackson Hole, many opponents to the plan were suspicious that the purchase had been made in order to establish a monopoly of the tourist facilities in the area. Regardless of motives, the purchase set the stage for the future; the old Jackson Lake Lodge was located adjacent to Rockefeller's favorite picnic spot, Lunch Tree Hill.

Throughout the 1930s and 40s, the proposed inclusion of Jackson Hole lands into an extension of the Grand Teton National Park was successfully opposed in Congress. Frustrated by the lack of legislation, President Roosevelt signed an executive order declaring the Jackson Hole National Monument in 1943; included within the boundaries were the 32,000 acres owned by Rockefeller's Snake River Land Company. ⁵⁰ This partial victory would have to suffice until after the disruption of WWII. However, the issue would again surface after the war with the increased visitation to National Parks by Americans. A number of conservation groups, experiencing an upsurge in public interest, exercised their new political power and pressed for the inclusion of the Jackson Hole National Monument into an expanded Grand Teton National Park. The Jackson Hole issue had indeed become a 'crucible for conservation.' "The American public was stirring itself and conservation forces were rapidly gaining strength. Jackson Hole had become a challenge in their determination to curb needless exploitation and the attempted 'land grab' by certain western cattlemen."⁵¹ In 1949, seeing his dream coming close to reality, Rockefeller deeded his Jackson Hole lands to the National Park Service, and in 1950, the expanded Grand Teton National Park was signed into law.⁵²

As the inclusion of northern Jackson Hole into a national park became more likely, Rockefeller turned his attention to the problems faced within the parks by the increased visitation following the war. By 1950, although he no longer owned the land, Rockefeller determined to construct appropriate accommodations for visitors to the Grand Teton National Park. Architect Gilbert Stanley Underwood, who had previously worked with Rockefeller in Williamsburg, Virginia, was commissioned to produce a report on existing lodging and infrastructure in Grand Teton National Park.⁵³ With both Rockefeller and the Park Service involved, a plan to modernize facilities was initiated. Underwood was contracted by Rockefeller's Grand Teton Lodge & Transportation Company to design a new Jackson Lake Lodge and the Park Service began developing plans for improved infrastructure. The resulting planned accommodations, with the approval of the National Park Service, were to be modern, plentiful, and affordable. It would provide a centralized location from which to enjoy the Park's resources.

⁴⁸ Righter, Crucible for Conservation, 40.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 58-59. Later the company name was changed to the Grand Teton Lodge & Transportation Co. and eventually shortened to the Grand Teton Lodge Co., as remains today.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 110.

⁵¹ Ibid., 124.

⁵² Ibid., 139.

⁵³ Gilbert Stanley Underwood & Co. (Moose, WY: National Park Service, Grand Teton National Park, 1950), cited in Zaitlin.

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This was not necessarily an entirely new concept for park facilities; the 1916 Act which established the National Park Service, included the mission statement "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same....⁵⁴ Design within parks was necessary for scenic preservation, as explained by landscape historian Ethan Carr, "...without well-designed roads, marked trails, sanitary facilities, and permanent campgrounds – the damage caused by tourists compounded brutally, especially in a fragile environment."55 Planned design within National Parks was formalized in the 1920s and '30s under the leadership of Park Service landscape architects Daniel Hull and Thomas C. Vint. Park administrators were encouraged to develop comprehensive plans, which designated areas within the parks for visitor use, maintenance areas, and wilderness preservation. 56 Emphasis in building construction at this time, however, was limited to the 'Rustic' style of architecture using natural materials and labor-intensive techniques.

As park visitation began to increase dramatically through the late 1940s, National Park Service director Newton Drury suggested limiting park visitation as well as removing overnight accommodations from within scenic park areas to park edges or even outside park boundaries.⁵⁷ In 1949, Drury published an article entitled "The Dilemma of Our Parks" in which he described the deterioration of visitor facilities and infrastructure within the parks, ignored and under-funded since the end of the New Deal era despite remarkable increases in visitors.⁵⁸ As a result of the growing crisis, by 1950 the Park Service had all but abandoned the rustic ideal as too expensive and out-dated. In 1951, Conrad Wirth was appointed director of the National Park Service. His new and modern approach to visitor facilities would result in the Mission 66 plan to upgrade the parks, which began in 1956 as a long-term funding program featuring the construction of functional, modern visitor facilities.

Prior to the 1956 funding of the Mission 66 program, however, money from the federal government was not forthcoming for the planned accommodation improvements at Grand Teton National Park. The construction of the Jackson Lake Lodge complex then, became an extension of Rockefeller's 'gift to the American people.' Rockefeller would finance the lodge project through his non-profit corporation, Jackson Hole Preservation, Inc. (JHPI), to the tune of \$6,000,000. In 1953, as the lodge construction plans were finalized, the Grand Teton Lodge & Transportation Company, a subsidiary of the JHPI, entered into a twenty year lease with the National Park Service for the land "on which the Jackson Lake Lodge would be built." The lease articulated the continued commitment to the 1916 conservation ideals by both the Park Service and Rockefeller for the park and its facilities:

> The sole purpose of the Company [Grand Teton Lodge & Transportation Co.] and of Jackson Hole Preserve, Incorporated, in causing the company to assume the obligations of this Lease and in making available the funds required for it to do so, is further to assist the National Park Service in preserving unspoiled for posterity and making available to the people of this country the inspiration and grandeur of the magnificent range of the Teton Mountains, and its beautiful setting, by providing accommodations appropriate to their surroundings, at prices as modest as sound management will permit.⁵⁹

Despite the high price tag for the Jackson Lake Lodge, the complex did not amount to a resort hotel, which

⁵⁴ As cited in Ethan Carr, Wilderness By Design, Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 5.

⁵⁵ Carr, Wilderness by Design, 5.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 7-8.

⁵⁷ McClelland, Building the National Parks, 460.

⁵⁸ Allaback, "Mission 66 Visitors Centers," 1; citing Newton Drury, "The Dilemma of Our Parks," American Forests 55 (June 1949): 6-11, 38-39.

⁵⁹ As cited in "A Short History of Jackson Lake Lodge," 3.

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might have been a destination in itself. In keeping with the conservation principles of the Park Service and of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the lodge was designed to encourage outdoor enjoyment of the surrounding scenic wilderness. A 1955 New York Times article reporting on the opening of the Jackson Lake Lodge noted this particularly:

> The Rockefeller family, ardent conservationists all, built the new lodge in accordance with National Park Service tenets. That is, accommodations are offered for those who come to view the parklands, to ride, to hike or climb on mountain trails, to enjoy the woodlands as they existed when the country was new. Such vacationists, according to this thesis, need no golf or tennis to add to their pleasures.⁶⁰

Beginning in 1954, special funds were made available to the Park Service for infrastructure improvements through the Federal Highway Aid Act. 61 *The Jackson Hole Guide* reported on June 10, 1954 that these "supplemental appropriations" would provide \$65,200 for the sidewalks around the cottages and \$12,500 to prepare the parking area of the Jackson Lake Lodge. 62 A whopping \$145,300 was set aside for road and trail construction at Colter Bay. The Grand Teton Lodge Company was developing the Colter Bay area just north of Jackson Lake Lodge as a lower-cost cabin complex where the more primitive cabins of the old Jackson Lake Lodge were to be moved. The Park Service would also lay the necessary utilities for the complex, walking and riding trails were constructed, and access roads were improved. 63 The new lodge complex included stables and horses for visitor use, and a fleet of buses provided transportation around the park and to Yellowstone National Park just seven miles to the north.

Present at the June 1955 dedication of the new Jackson Lake Lodge complex was Laurance Rockefeller, the son of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. by then quite elderly, who had taken on the administration of the Jackson Hole Preserve, Inc. Laurance's comments at the dedication neatly summed up the purpose of the long struggle of his father, his friends, and the National Park Service:

> Conservation today means far more than just preserving our natural resources. It means their wise use and protection so that more and more people may enjoy and benefit by them.

> One out of every three Americans will visit a national park this year. Many of them will come away disappointed because of overcrowded conditions, or because of improper facilities, or because things "don't seem kept up the way they used to be." And unless something is done, more will come away the next year with a feeling that our parks are running down, that the trip "wasn't worth it." And they will be quite right. Our parks are overcrowded for the existing facilities and they are not being kept up as they should be - and as the Park Service would like them to be.

> It is father's hope, and mine, that the building of this hotel, and its operating experience, can be used by the Park Service and others working on these problems as sort of a pilot project. If it so serves, then the time, care and expense

⁶⁰ Goodman, The New York Times, Aug. 7, 1955.

⁶¹ McClelland, Building the National Parks, 462.

⁶² The Jackson Hole Guide, June 10, 1954, Grand Teton National Park Library, Moose, WY.

⁶³ Kenneth Chorley, "Jackson Lake Lodge Dedication," June 11, 1955 (Planning and Civic Comment), Jackson Lake Lodge vertical file, Jackson Hole Historical Society, Jackson, WY.

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which have gone into it will be all the more worthwhile.64

With the implementation of the Mission 66 program the following year in 1956, the principles of preserving and protecting scenic National Parks while modernizing facilities and improving enjoyment of the parks by more people, heralded by the careful design and construction of the Jackson Lake Lodge complex, came to fruition.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr. wrote in 1953, "The Teton Mountains are, to my way of thinking, quite the grandest and most spectacular mountains I have ever seen... When viewed over the vast expanse of sagebrush which covers the valley, or with Jackson Lake and the marshes in the foreground, they present a picture of everchanging beauty which is to me beyond compare." That the Jackson Lake Lodge succeeded in capturing the vista as Rockefeller saw it was unmistakable when standing before the massive windows of the Lounge or on the terraces beyond. The immediate and continued popularity of the lodge complex has confirmed that such a facility was indeed necessary. Use of the lodge by nationally prominent people who have used the terrace view as a platform to promote their conservation agendas is a significant testimony to the success of the building.

In 1973, the Grand Teton Lodge Company and the National Park Service renewed the original lease agreement for the Jackson Lake Lodge concession for an additional thirty year term. In 1986, the Rockefeller family sold the Grand Teton Lodge Company to the CSX Corporation, thus ending the non-profit status of the company. The lodge company was again sold in 1999, by CSX to Vail Associates, who continues the operation of the lodge in the tradition established in 1955, with emphasis on the preservation of the magnificent view as well as attention to visitor comfort.⁶⁶

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⁶⁵ Fosdick, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 316; From a letter to Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Osborn, August 13, 1953.

⁶⁶ "A Short History of Jackson Lake Lodge," 9.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
 Previously Listed in the National Register.
Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.

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Designated a National Historic Landmark.
Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #
Primary Location of Additional Data:
State Historic Preservation Office
Other Agency
Federal Agency (NPS)
Local Government
University
Other (Specify Repository):

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: Approximately 144 acres

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	12	533500	4859100
В	12	534540	4859100
C	12	534040	4857620
D	12	534420	4857620

Verbal Boundary Description: Beginning on the west side of a trail located at the base of the terrace upon which the Jackson Lake Lodge is located, approximately 1,000 feet southeast of a small creek leading into Spring Creek, and following the west side of the trail in a southeasterly direction to the point where it crosses Christian Creek, then following Christian Creek in a northeasterly direction to intersect with Teton Park Road, then following the road in a northerly direction to a point opposite the end of a service road for the employees housing area of the lodge complex, then turning northwest and following the east edge of the service road and continuing in a straight line northwest from the point where the road makes a right angle turn to the southwest to the point of beginning.

Boundary Justification: The boundaries were chosen to include the entire Jackson Lake Lodge complex, Lunch Tree Hill, the nearby network of roads and trails and enough of the surrounding environment to accommodate the immediate setting that have historically been part of the Jackson Lake Lodge complex and which maintain integrity.

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January 28, 2002 Date:

Edited by: Gregory D. Kendrick, Historian

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> DESIGNATED A NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK July 31, 2003